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NATIONAL REVIEW

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October 13, 1956

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

The Meaning of the Change

Three Views on the Nature of Contemporary Communism

JAMES BURNHAM
FRANK S. MEYER
WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

This Congressional Trip Paid Off

BLAKE CLARK

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · · GERHART NIEMEYER
SAM M. JONES · ANDY STUDEBAKER · REVILO OLIVER

For the Record

The campaign to tar Richard Nixon with the anti-Semitic brush died a-borning last week when the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith said there was no truth in the charge. . . . New York's Mayor Robert Wagner has gone beyond the Democratic platform in his attempt to wrest Jewish votes from Jacob Javits: he says the United States should supply arms to Israel as a gift.

Two AFL-CIO officials have joined Adlai Stevenson's campaign staff. . . . Stevenson's family paper, the Bloomington Pantagraph (neutral in 1952), announced its support of Adlai this year since he is no longer running on the Truman record.

"For America" reports that the T. Coleman Andrews ticket should appear on the ballot in twelve states (with a total electoral vote of 142): Alabama, Arkansas, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, New Mexico, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. It may be listed in five more: Minnesota, North Dakota, Utah, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

The explosive Saar problem was solved last week, after more than a year of negotiation. France accepted the return of the region to German sovereignty and Germany, in turn, granted France certain economic concessions in the coal-rich industrial basin. Significantly, the happily solved problem was never allowed to get within 3,000 miles of the United Nations. . . . Japan and Russia appear ready to sign a de-facto peace treaty which will avoid mention of the Kurile Islands, now controlled by the Soviet Union.

French Premier Guy Mollet is in for some parliamentary trouble when the French Assembly next debates his Mediterranean policy (Algeria and Suez), but his government is not in danger: no one wants Mollet's job. . . . Background factor in the Iceland-U.S. negotiations: Iceland's exports to the Soviet bloc increased from 7 to 28 per cent in the past four years, while its exports to America and Britain slumped.

The Russian Navy is second only to that of the United States, a group of NATO experts report. According to them, the Soviet Union has 25 modern cruisers, 130 destroyers and 400 submarines. . . . Outer Mongolia has again formally applied for admission to the UN. . . . The Netherlands brought to the attention of the United Nations Indonesia's repudiation of her $170 million debt to Holland.

The American Civil Liberties Union has asked the Supreme Court to reverse the conviction of sixteen Communist leaders because not enough "clear and present danger" (of violent overthrow of the government) exists to justify "the suppression of free speech" (i.e., the Smith Act). . . . For the first time since the thirties, there has been an open split among members of the National Committee of the Communist Party. National chairman William Z. Foster voted against the Committee's draft resolution. . . . Cited as Communist fronts by the Justice Department: The Committee to End Sedition Laws (headquarters in Pittsburgh) and the California Emergency Defense Committee (San Francisco and Los Angeles).

Of the 19,000 motion picture theaters in the United States, 8,000 are expected to close in the next few years. . . . The Bureau of Labor Statistics will survey the wages of an estimated six million persons now employed in the retail trade. Most salespeople are not covered by the minimum wage laws.

Of children who had all three Salk vaccine shots this year, only one out of every quarter million came down with paralytic polio (the rate was forty times as high among children who received no shots). None of those who got the full treatment died. . . . The export quota of Salk vaccine for the fourth quarter has been set at seven milion cc's. It will go to nations with high polio rates and effective immunization programs.

When the film Lady Chatterley's Lover was banned in New York State, the distributing company demanded a reversal of that decision on the grounds that the Kinsey Report proved that the "majority of moral people commit adultery."

NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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Contents OCTOBER 13, 1956 VOL. II, NO. 21

THE WEEK 3

ARTICLES

The Meaning of the Change
The Problem of No. 1 .... James Burnham 9
Communism Remains Communism Frank S. Meyer 10
The Triumph of Stalin .... William S. Schlamm 12
Letter from Seattle .... Andy Studebaker 14
This Congressional Trip Paid Off .... Blake Clark 15
How Conservatives Should Vote Readers' Symposium 18
Too Early and Too Much .... Gerhart Niemeyer 19

DEPARTMENTS

For the Record 2
The Campaign .... Sam M. Jones 8
The Printed Word .... W. K. 17
To the Editor 23

BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Outsider: A Case History Frank S. Meyer 20
The Education Hoax .... Revilo Oliver 21
No Blueprint .... Ben Ray Redman 21
News for Mr. Eisenhower .... James Burnham 21
A Man and a Prince .... R. P. O. 22
Reviewed in Brief .... Roger Becket 22

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The WEEK

● Where is Senator Knowland? Everyone seems to agree that the Republican Party is in danger, and that it is in danger largely as the result of listlessness on the part of conservative Republicans who have never been quite convinced that there's anything in it for them in November. Meanwhile, the heir to Robert Taft, who must be presumed willing to come to the aid of the party, is off somewhere in cold storage, while Arthur Larson, Emmet Hughes and the boys work round the clock exalting progressive moderation, and Mr. Nixon goes around being genteel. Are they afraid of Mr. Knowland? Or ashamed of him?

● Just to straighten out the record: Harvey Matusow was a liar and a Communist. Then he told the FBI and Roy Cohn he wasn't a Communist any more and all Communists are liars and traitors. They sent some Communists to jail, including some that Matusow said were Communists. Then Matusow said that he had lied about lying and that nobody was a Communist, but Roy Cohn and the FBI were liars. Then a jury said that Matusow had lied when he said he was a liar, and Matusow said to the judge that "Harvey Matusow is dead," and the judge sent him up for five years. Next question?

● Yale University, recognizing that our age will let nothing be simultaneously valuable and inheritable, has for a generation been tending to convert its undergraduate body into a demographic replica of a federal prison—with students drawn from every social and economic class, every geographical region, race, religion and color, and no preference, if you please, for the sons of Yale men. And now Yale, which wouldn't be caught dead less levelled than any place else, is considering admitting new students from every—well, both, sexes. The dean who thought up the idea, and supplied the needed rationalizations (it will raise scholastic standards, keep the boys in New Haven week-ends, etc.), took a moment, in passing, to compose the perfect epitaph for our civilization: "Any form of exclusiveness," he ruled in exquisitely levelled prose, "is bad."

● Prior to the Communist conquest of power, Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Russia itself were all agricultural surplus nations which, after providing for their internal needs, had large amounts of foods and fibers left for export. The remaining nations of Eastern Europe grew enough for their own people to live on. This year's reports of "harvest failure," hunger, and deals to import foods and fibers from Canada, Egypt and Burma, reveal once more that Communism and farm collectivization have transformed all of these countries into agricultural deficit areas. It suggests an angle for the Department of Agriculture, if the Soil Bank doesn't get anywhere with *our* surplus. And maybe the Kremlin would like the lowdown on high fixed parity.

● *Bulletin from Security Ward*: Dr. Dag Hammarskjold announced that Patient 1313 (Suez Canal), admitted in an emaciated condition on 26 September 1956, was immediately put under sedatives, and sat on by the heaviest members of the Council delegations. Her condition is critical, and the staff is hopeful that she will expire quietly when no one is looking. No visitors or flowers.

● The International Monetary Fund, financed principally by the United States, Great Britain and France, has just advanced $15 million to Egypt to overcome exchange difficulties resulting from Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal Company—i.e., to enable Egypt to escape the consequences of the economic sanctions applied by the United States, Great Britain and France in an effort to compel Nasser to live up to his contracts. Harry Dexter White would be proud of the son he fathered at Bretton Woods.

● Until today, we couldn't have said what it was, but something *has* been missing. And we realized what it was the moment we saw it in *Variety*, namely: the first story on the long-since-inevitable blacklist for nonconformists on the desegregation issue. Station WRC, in Washington, D.C., has suspended radio director Everett Severe because he participated in segregation rallies in Maryland.

● James E. Gordon, the father of the two Negro children who went to school between National Guard rows in Clay, Kentucky, has been fired from the garage job he had been holding for seven years. That he is no longer permitted to wash cars will in no way strengthen the case of the good people of Clay. They have every right to determine the organization of their school. They have no right to prevent a man from earning bread for his children.

● The Province of Saskatchewan, Canada, abandoned the profit motive by electing a socialist government in 1944. Starting with $130 million and an imported British Socialist as capital, some 19 "people's industries" were organized. In the Calgary *Albertan* Ross Thatcher, socialist M.P., recently summarized the results: six of the nineteen industries kept facing private competition, lost heavily (in one case over $800,000) and have been liquidated or absorbed into other government agencies. The government managed to keep the rest going—through absolute monopolies, forced acceptance of their product and services, or simply by charging itself high prices to show profit.

● Sweden, where prohibition was abolished a year ago because it was claimed that, perversely, it stimulated alcoholic consumption, has apparently been hitting the jug something fierce: Drunkenness has increased by 200 per cent in the cities, by 125 per cent over the nation as a whole; arrests for drunkenness have risen from 22,000 per annum to 100,000; and soon, predicts one expert on the problem, the Land of the Middle Way will have as many women drunkards as the (somewhat more populous) United States. Swedish psychologists are speaking learnedly of a national "compulsion neurosis" inherited from Prohibition days. Our guess is simpler: the Welfare State just plain drives people to drink. And that includes us.

● Something different in educational institutions, The Freedom School, is now building in Glenrose Park, Colorado, near the new Air Academy. The school is dedicated to expanding "the libertarian philosophy of individualism," and hopes to offer the first two-week course—in "American Philosophy" —by June of 1957. Later courses will cover broader subjects within the same framework. The Freedom School's sponsors include such distinguished teachers, writers and publicists as Miss Taylor Caldwell, Frank Chodorov, Ralph Courtney, J. H. Gipson, Dr. E. Merrill Root and Dr. V. Orval Watts. Those interested in further details should write to Mr. Robert LeFevre, President, The Freedom School, P.O. Box 165, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

● Amid perplexing rumors of factional splits, satellite trouble, and recrudescence of old-fashioned Stalinism, the chiefs of the Russian Communist Party met at Yalta with Yugoslavia's Tito and Hungary's Gero. The one thing we can be quite sure of is that whatever the official Communist press says about this new Yalta Conference is false. It must be placed against the background of the whole course of development since last winter's 20th Congress of the Russian Party. The meaning of this development is the subject of the discussion by Messrs. Burnham, Meyer and Schlamm in the symposium published in this issue.

The Protest Vote

By contrast with our volubility on other topics, NATIONAL REVIEW has been silent as the ocean deep on the subject of third-party political activity this year—and so, in effect, we have discouraged the formation of a third party. This is why:

Traditionally, the nation's political business has been done by two parties, not three or more. We think this is as it should be. It has advantages quite apart from the obvious technical ones. Voluntary limitation in the number of parties brings pressure to bear on minority political groupings to accept reasonable compromises, abandon sectarianism, and join the viable party nearest to its position. By the same token, there is pressure on the larger parties to make room for such groupings by giving sympathetic attention to their demands. The two pressures militate toward broad consensus—and, therefore, to a more harmonious, less divided society.

On the other hand, the United States has traditionally left people reasonably free to launch so-called "third parties," and this also is as it should be. It enables groupings that do not find accommodation in the major parties to let off steam, for one thing, and to ascertain whether they have the popular support they often claim. They are an indispensable shotgun-behind-the-door, for possible use on the major parties on that day when, by failing to heed some sizable body of opinion, they cease to perform well their traditional function. Obviously, the shotgun-behind-the-door is useless if it is understood that nobody must ever use it.

We feel there is a practical reason, one, furthermore, involving pride, for being hesitant to decide that the gun should now be triggered. We feel the Republican Party could develop into the logical party of limited government and realistic anti-Communism, that those presently in command of it are interlopers, and that we will not lightly concede to them permanent title to the Republican Party, its traditions, facilities and resources. Not, that is, until we are absolutely certain that there isn't a chance in the world that the conservatives will reassert control. It can be argued, not unpersuasively, that that day is here. But as long as there is doubt, we are not ready for the convulsive final step.

But those who deeply dissent from the policy of Progressive Moderation should feel free to the extent it is possible to do so to make their protests heard; and we are glad that formal provision is being made in at least a few states to give them that opportunity. Mr. Revilo Oliver reported two weeks ago on a coalition of conservative and states' rights parties that have nominated for President Mr. T. Coleman Andrews of Virginia, former head of the Internal Revenue Bureau who resigned because he doesn't approve of progressive income taxation, and will appear on the ballot in twelve states. Mr. Andrews does not have a well-defined position on all the problems that plague the world. He would be the first to admit that the abolition of the Sixteenth Amendment will not do away with Original Sin. But he is an unambiguous symbol of protest by *the Right*, and a vote cast for him has an unmistakable meaning.

In many states, the Andrews ticket will not appear on the ballot. But in some of these there are other means of expressing dissent. In Connecticut, both Vivien Kellems and Suzanne Stevenson are running in opposition to Senator Bush and a record that runs the gamut from censure of Senator McCarthy and opposition to the Bricker Amendment and the gas bill, to support of aid for Yugoslavia. In New York an organized movement is under way to urge conservative voters to write in the name of Douglas MacArthur for Senator. Here and there, in the South especially, a local man has announced that he intends to run on an *ad hoc*, protest ticket.

It is possible that the cumulative impact of these votes will register an orderly protest of the kind our major political draughtsmen will listen to. If not, it may be that, four years hence, the gun must go off.

The Hole in the Shoe

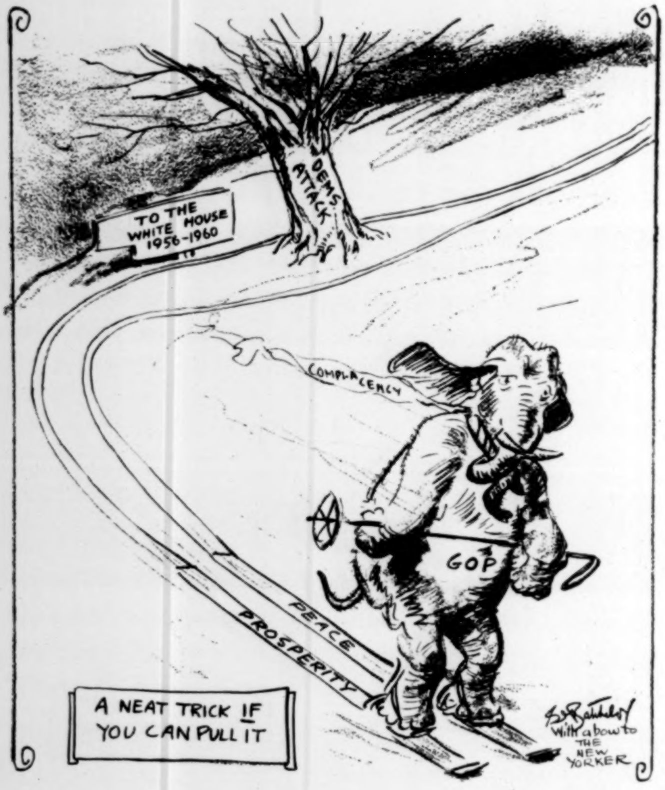
We note the runaway popularity of miniature shoes with little holes in them that are cropping up as lapel pins and bracelet charms all over the country. They are designed to be sophisticated—and more fetching—substitutes for "Vote for Stevenson" or "I Like Adlai" buttons, which are for children and simpletons who do not understand Symbols.

What does the shoe with the hole in it mean? Well, my children, it means several things. It means, for one thing, that Adlai Stevenson cares little for the things of this world, preferring a pure soul to elaborate vestments. It means, too, that Adlai Stevenson is, at heart, a man of the people, not a city-slicker who gets all fancied-up whenever he goes out. And it means, finally, that Stevenson is so overworked attempting to serve the people that he wears out shoes the way other people wear out paper napkins.

We hate to do it, but here goes: Adlai Stevenson is a millionaire who went to a tony prep school and a posh college, married a socialite, sent his sons to Harvard, mixes badinage and drinks—and has all his life—with the salon set, is much more at home with men who wear thirty-dollar shoes than with the *descamisados*, and whose own shoes, probably out of

Brooks Brothers, are immensely durable and could last even Estes Kefauver an average Presidential campaign. Our guess: that his famous appearance, four years ago, with the defective shoe was either a contrived piece of public relations, a sheer affectation, or a sheer accident, of the kind that could have happened to Jacques Fath.

It is sad that most of those who wear the little shoe on their lapel wouldn't be caught dead in company with a man who wore shoes with holes in them because he was genuinely poor, genuinely ignorant, or genuinely bohemian. They are, alas, snobs at heart, who know no link to the common man except such counterfeit contrivances.


TO THE WHITE HOUSE 1956-1960
DEMS ATTACK
COMPLACENCY
GOP
PEACE
PROSPERITY
A NEAT TRICK IF YOU CAN PULL IT
CD Batchelor
With a bow to THE NEW YORKER

Yugoslavia, Coming Up

The Mutual Security Act of 1956 provides that "no assistance . . . shall be furnished to Yugoslavia . . . [after October 16] unless the President finds and so reports to Congress with his reasons therefor, 1) that there has been no change in the Yugoslav policies on the basis of which assistance . . . has been furnished to Yugoslavia in the past, and that Yugoslavia is independent of control by the Soviet Union, and 2) that Yugoslavia is not participating in any policy or program for the Communist conquest of the world, and 3) that it is in the interest of the national security of the United States to continue the furnishing of aid to Yugoslavia."

As for No. 3, no problem: the President's message to Congress can go on and on about our need for a trouble-maker in the Soviet camp—and ignore the fact that Tito *is* in the Soviet camp, and will still be there when the shooting starts. As for the second part of No. 1, no problem either. Yugoslavia is obviously not under the "control" of the Soviet Union in the same sense as, say, Bulgaria.

But how about No. 2? Is Yugoslavia participating in a "policy or program for the Communist conquest of the world"? Of course it is.

And how about the first part of No. 1? "The basis" for past aid was a violent rupture in Russo-Yugoslav relations in 1948, and the then-plausible theory that American aid to Yugoslavia could prolong the break indefinitely. Today what we have on our hands is a Soviet-Yugoslavia *rapprochement,* with Tito proclaiming in Moscow that "nothing will ever happen again between the two countries marching along the path of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Long live the Soviet Union! Long live the friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia!"

We hope the President will do his duty. If he does not, the State Department's desk of casuistry has an especially challenging problem on its hands.

Reuther's Law of Political Value

Fifteen million members of the AFL-CIO are to be spared the pains of figuring out, on their own, whom to vote for. Their union has reduced the problem to a science. At the cost of a mere $50,000—got together, no doubt, by popular subscriptions to Messrs. Elmer Davis and Archibald MacLeish's Clean Politics Fund for impoverished Liberals—the union is sending every one of its members a score card denoting the number of "Right" and "Wrong" votes cast by local Senators and Representatives during their terms in Congress. The document does not discuss the legislative issues that separated friends of labor from lackeys of vested interest. For it is as inconceivable to labor union leaders that anyone should question the judgment of the appointed custodians of ideological purity as it was to the Beadle that Oliver Twist should want more to eat.

The problem thus becomes completely mathematical. Live in Oregon? Turn to "M." There you will find the great independent, Wayne Morse. He is to be supported, for he has a perfect (20 Rights-0 Wrongs) record. Live in Illinois? Look under "D"—and brace yourself. Senator Dirksen, having piled up a perfect record (0-12) of delinquency, must be consigned to utter darkness. Other good and faithful servants are

Humphrey (18-0), Lehman (16-0), and Mansfield (11-1—this one bears watching, boys). Other reactionaries are Dworshak (1-15), Mundt (3-15), Bricker (1-17) and McCarthy (3-14). How can labor leaders, having taken all the anguish out of voting, any longer maintain that automation is all bad?

Yet, if we may be permitted to say so, the AFL-CIO has not, in NATIONAL REVIEW's judgment, gone quite far enough in its efforts to give the democratic process real scientific exactitude. Though the union man in New York can tell at a glance that Congressman Gwinn (0-19) never did a right thing in his life, and that Congressman Powell (19-0) never did a wrong one, he is stumped when it comes to computing the quantitative superiority of one candidate over the other. For instance, while it is easy to see that Powell is thirty-eight times as reliable as Gwinn (19-0+19-0=38), figuring out the relative objectionability of, say, Senators Bridges (3-15) and Bush (3-8) can be rough. If one subtracts R(ight) decisions from W(rong), one finds that Bridges has a minus score of 12, Bush of 5, or that Bridges is 2-2/5 as bad as Bush. *But this is really an oversimplification and not to be trusted*—for it does not take into account the ratio of W votes to T(otal) votes cast. It is necessary to make allowances. Thus the union member can see that while Bridges was right three fifteenths (or eight fortieths) of the time, Bush drew three eighths (or fifteen fortieths), so that Bush is only seven fortieths Righter than Bridges, a fraction of the superiority the first system falsely attributes to him. We feel that the AFL-CIO should work out a formula—P(roportion)-RE(lation)—for its members to follow, such as: $\frac{R\text{-}W \text{ (or } W\text{-}R)}{T} = P$ of representative A; $\frac{P \text{ (of A)}}{P \text{ (of B)}} = PRE$. What are they getting paid for, after all?

The Poznan Trials

The first two of the Poznan trials have been startling and dramatic. The prosecution had, for obvious enough reasons, selected as the first defendants individuals who were charged only with specific criminal acts, and who were plainly not involved politically in the origin or conduct of the riots. Nevertheless, from the beginning the political and social meaning of what has been happening in Poland was openly expressed in the courtroom. There has been nothing comparable since Communism, indeed since the Nazis, took over in Poland.

Representatives of the press, radio and several embassies have been admitted. At the start, the defendants charged that they had been tortured by the police in the week following arrest. They repudiated the pre-trial depositions, and the judges ruled them out as evidence. They described the demonstrations in such a way as to bring out the grievances of the workers, and the demands for food, decent working conditions and an end to Moscow control. One defendant, Jan Suwart, told the amazing story of the victimization of his family and himself that led him, as the only means left whereby to get bread, to steal.

From the juridical point of view the trials lack certain procedures that we regard as essential to the protection of defendants' rights, but many of these are not part of the Polish legal tradition, Communism aside. In other respects—for example, in not being bound by strict rules of relevance—the Polish practice, like the Russian, gives a defendant much greater freedom than we allow. From these first Poznan trials one almost gets the impression that the Polish authorities are themselves permitting the courtrooms to be used as a forum for informing the world about conditions in Poland, and Polish opposition to both Communism and Moscow.

Mr. John Dos Passos has been at work for several weeks preparing a profile of Adlai Stevenson. We shall look forward to publishing the first installment two weeks hence. Next week Mr. Burnham and Mr. Schlamm will square off to the question, Should Conservative Republicans Vote for Eisenhower? Mr. Burnham will say Yes. Mr. Schlamm will say No.

NATIONAL REVIEW used too optimistic a phrase in reporting recently on Joseph Starobin, former foreign editor of the *Daily Worker*. It is apparently true that Starobin has broken with the Communist Party, but he still labels himself "a Communist." In short, he is trapped in No Man's Land, and has yet to carry through his "escape to freedom."

In commenting editorially on Jacob Javits' encounter with the Senate Internal Security Committee (September 22), NATIONAL REVIEW referred to one of the committee's witnesses, Mr. Max Yergan, as a "then Communist chief organizer among the Negroes." We are advised that Mr. Yergan testified under oath, in May 1952, that while he had once worked with the Communists in various front groups, notably the National Negro Congress and the Council on African Affairs, he had never been a member of the Communist Party. We are satisfied, moreover, that before he left the two Negro organizations, Mr. Yergan led an unsuccessful fight against their Communist factions, headed in both cases by Paul Robeson; and thereafter cooperated wholeheartedly with congressional efforts to expose the Conspiracy.

The Campaign

SAM M. JONES

In a little more than a month the mood of the Republican High Command has suffered a revolutionary transformation. The complacent confidence of San Francisco has been replaced by an emotional state bordering on panic. All the carefully premeditated campaign strategy, designed to inform the voter in the politest possible way of his good fortune in having the opportunity to re-elect Mr. Eisenhower, has been thrown out the window. It's now hammer and tongs. The "high level" tone of GOP oratory has been replaced with harsh words and bitter accusations. Mr. Nixon's attempt to outpromise Kefauver was the last bobble of the pre-realism period. Nixon's amateurish impersonation of Santa Claus suffered terribly in comparison with the seasoned demagogy of Kefauver, whose repertoire includes Saint Nicholas as well as Davy Crockett.

The cause of the Republican aboutface is by no means obscure. In recent weeks national headquarters and the President himself have received bad news from every quarter. Some of the harsher critics of top-level policy frankly stated that the election was being lost by default. Contrary to custom and inclination, GHQ began to listen to the voices of the Old Guard who, after all, have the highly practical habit of getting re-elected time after time.

These gentlemen patiently pointed out that there are important differences between the campaign of 1956 and that of 1952. They noted, for instance, that a large percentage of the Democrats who liked Ike so enthusiastically four years ago have returned to the old home party; that no successor has been found to fill Bob Taft's role as Field Marshal of the right wing. They explained that the dead weight of Trumanism no longer handicaps Stevenson; that he is attacking, not defending; that the initiative has been with the opposition.

These and sundry other points of information were conveyed to the White House and the Republican National Committee. Reports from the field drove them home. It was discovered that the farm revolt is not a canard, invented by Democratic propagandists; that Republican apathy is an easily discernible fact; that those who voted against the Truman-Acheson foreign policy are equally opposed to the Eisenhower-Dulles facsimile; and that the electorate numbers more Democrats than Republicans.

The disillusionment is responsible for the New Eisenhower who employs harsh words instead of pleasant platitudes—a partisan candidate who travels hard and speaks often instead of a politically aloof President with only an occasional dignified TV address. To all GOP candidates and to loyal Republicans everywhere the New Eisenhower is an inspiration.

It could be that the present Republican apprehension is no more justified than the earlier complacency, but the fear of sweeping Democratic victories on the congressional level is certainly well grounded. Eisenhower will probably remain the favorite in the betting right up to election day. Continuation of his vigorous attacks and further expansion of the schedule of personal appearances may increase the current 8 to 5 odds, but his remarkable ability to sell himself has in the past been of little or no assistance to Republican candidates for House and Senate. The New Eisenhower may make for better bets on his continued White House tenancy, but there is no perceptible change in the outlook for a Democratic Congress.

No one can muzzle Truman, but awakening Acheson was a first-class blunder. Plenty of Republicans dislike Republican foreign policy, but criticism from the man who refused to "turn my back on Alger Hiss" reopened the tactfully closed door which had kept the record of subversion out of mind.

While Eisenhower's serious illnesses of the last year will cost him votes among those who fear the succession of Nixon, his opponent has a handicap potentially as dangerous as the health issue. There is substantial evidence that the divorce issue has hurt Stevenson in communities where religious convictions are registered at the ballot box.

In this short campaign, it is to be assumed that there is still an important undecided vote. Trends now indiscernible should be apparent before the end of October. This is how the picture looks today:

Safely or probably Republican: Colorado, 6 electoral votes; Idaho, 4; Indiana, 13; Iowa, 10; Kansas, 8; Maine, 5; Maryland, 9; Nebraska, 6; New Hampshire, 4; North Dakota, 4; Ohio, 25; South Dakota, 4; Utah, 4; Vermont, 3; Wisconsin, 12; and Wyoming, 3. Total, 16 states with 120 electoral votes.

Safely or probably Democratic: Alabama, 11; Arkansas, 8; Florida, 10; Georgia, 12; Kentucky, 10; Louisiana, 10; Mississippi, 8; Missouri, 13; New Mexico, 4; North Carolina, 14; Oklahoma, 8; South Carolina, 8; Tennessee, 11; Texas, 24; Virginia, 12; and West Virginia, 8. Total, 16 states with 171 electoral votes. (In Texas, where the Democratic intramural feud is approaching a new high, the state could conceivably go to Eisenhower. The same result is possible in Virginia, where a third-party States' Rights candidate, T. Coleman Andrews, could split the Democratic vote.)

In doubt: Arizona, 4; California, 32; Connecticut, 8; Delaware, 3; Illinois, 27; Massachusetts, 16; Michigan, 20; Minnesota, 11; Montana, 4; Nevada, 3; New Jersey, 16; New York, 45; Oregon, 6; Pennsylvania, 32; Rhode Island, 4; and Washington, 9. Total, 16 states with 240 electoral votes.

On the basis of this appraisal, the Republican candidate would need 146 votes in addition to the 120 of the "safe and probable states." The Democratic candidate would need 95 electoral ballots from the "doubtful" group. Theoretically, therefore, Stevenson could lose New York, Pennsylvania, California and Illinois (146 electoral votes) and still win; whereas Eisenhower could not win without at least one of these states (as the other 12 "doubtful" states have an electoral total of only 104).

The Meaning of the Change

Three Views on the Nature of Contemporary Communism

The West, immobilized in so many other respects, is still looking for a completely satisfactory explanation of the change in Moscow's tactical line. Each time that line has switched, over the last forty years, the West has been eager to discover in the event some foreboding of final Communist failure. And so once more. Since the 20th Congress, the woods are full of "experts" who offer every conceivable theory on the alluring subject.

NATIONAL REVIEW *employs no "experts" on Russia. However, Messrs. Burnham, Meyer and Schlamm have studied, among them, the nature of the enemy for several decades. They have been asked to present their views on the current turmoil for an additional reason: they do not quite agree with one another. While Mr. Burnham believes the Russian Communists are responding to difficulties, Mr. Meyer thinks they are acting from strength. And Mr. Schlamm contends that Khrushchev is actually the final triumph of Stalin. In presenting the diversified positions of its three associates,* NATIONAL REVIEW *happily notes that all three agree on the desirable Western response to the "change" in Moscow—the bold attack.*

The Problem of No. 1

JAMES BURNHAM

In judging what is written about the Soviet Union, it is always difficult to separate assertion from rhetoric. Commentators do not formulate their views as meaningful hypotheses from which logical consequences can be drawn. Seemingly contrary hypotheses are not so stated that they can be tested through differential predictions. Thus disputes are often no more than clashes of feeling.

In considering the hundreds of statements on the new anti-Stalin turn, it is hard to be sure just what is being said. So far as I can figure out, most can be classified under one of three general hypotheses.

1. *The anti-Stalin turn is the expression of the "bourgeoisification" and softening of the Revolution.* This theory is being prominently pushed by George Kennan, and seems to be rather widely held in England. It has, in fact, cropped up periodically ever since the Bolsheviks' first "right turn" into the NEP (1923). The analogy of past revolutions is supposed to prove that at some point a successful revolutionary elite gives up its apocalyptic goals, and settles down as the new ruling and privileged class to enjoy the fruits of its victory.

Certainly there is a new class division in the Soviet Union, with privileged strata that want to preserve and increase what they've got. At least for the moment there has been some internal loosening of the dictatorship. But there is little evidence of any basic alteration in the Communist internal system; and no slightest evidence of a shift in their world outlook. Trotsky was evidently right about "the permanent revolution." Bolshevism seems to be, in both social and psychological structure, inherently revolutionary. As Jules Monnerot put it: Bolshevism "is determined to be alone on earth."

We may add that the historical analogies, even if applicable, are not very comforting. The Thermidor (bourgeoisification) of revolutions does not necessarily decrease their danger to the rest of the world. After all, Bonaparte came after Thermidor.

2. *The anti-Stalin turn is the expression of the triumphant success and strength of the Revolution.* In variant forms this theory has been put forward by Whittaker Chambers in *Life*, Frank Meyer in NATIONAL REVIEW, the Alsop brothers in some of their columns, and by many of the contributors to the congressional symposium, *The Great Pretense;* and also, of course, by the Communist spokesmen themselves. The victories of the Soviet Union in external policy seem to support this second alternative (as the internal class development seems to support the first). But I believe it to rest on an exaggeration of the positive strength of the Soviet Empire, combined with a wish to guard against non-Communist complacency.

No Clear "Line"

Moreover, this theory is marred by an internal contradiction. If the Revolution is so unbreachably successful, and so far along as to be (as Mr. Meyer, in effect, maintains) over the hump on the path to total world power, then it does not make sense for the regime suddenly to repudiate the leader under whom the triumphs occurred. Quite the contrary. The new chiefs would be competing for the right to wear Stalin's mantle, not to cast it off.

The events since the 20th Congress are not in accord with this second theory. The anti-Stalin steps give the impression of being hasty and improvised—counter to normal Bolshevik procedure, which plans so carefully beforehand. Publication of the Khrushchev speech by the United States was plainly a severe shock to the Kremlin. There has not been a clear internal "line," but backings and fillings. The leadership does not seem to have anticipated the internal responses to the turn; its touch in meeting them is unsure. Even externally, in spite of maximum opportunity, the Kremlin has not shown a firm hand since the 20th Congress, has reversed itself frequently (cf. the Middle East), and has accomplished little except for minor moves toward united fronts with socialists. The new Yalta Conference points up their continuing confusions.

Shaky Bandwagon

3. *The anti-Stalin turn is the expression of acute internal difficulties within the Soviet Union and the Soviet Empire.* The primary political difficulties are the failure of the regime to solve the problem of the succession, and the longer term failure to integrate the captive nations. The chief relevant socio-economic difficulties are the continuing agricultural collapse, and the mass discontents arising from the cumulative rigors of the police system and the lack of consumer goods.

The leading Communists are trying to crawl out from under a shaky bandwagon, not to jump on top of one that is charging smoothly forward. Unable to decide on the new "No. 1" (because their system lacks any other principle of legitimacy than terror), they adopt the temporary and in the end unworkable expedient of repudiating "No. Oneism" in favor of "collective leadership." They transform their terror of each other into competitive denunciation of the dead man who terrified them all.

Partly because they cannot solve their problem within the circle of the elite, and partly because the mass discontents demand at least some outlet, they throw Stalin's corpse out as scapegoat, and both at home and in the captive countries make certain concessions, in form for the most part but even to some degree in fact. Meanwhile, under the device of "collective leadership," the warring leaders maneuver for position, hold secret trials under the slogan of public justice, purge the purgers, and await the day when a new wave of blood will lift to the peak a new No. 1.

The new turn, like all previous major turns in the strategy of the Bolshevik Revolution, is determined basically by the internal situation. And as in other turns of the past, the Communists act in external affairs to exploit to their benefit even their difficulties. Thus, they advertise anti-Stalinism as a proof of growing benevolence. For the present, their principal external aims seem to be: a) to break up the military encirclement of the Soviet Empire by United States military bases and the NATO system; b) to persuade the outside world to help solve their internal difficulties by increased trade, armament cuts, "relaxation of tensions," and a friendly, respectful attitude toward the Communist regime and leadership that will aid them in winning the acceptance of their own subjects.

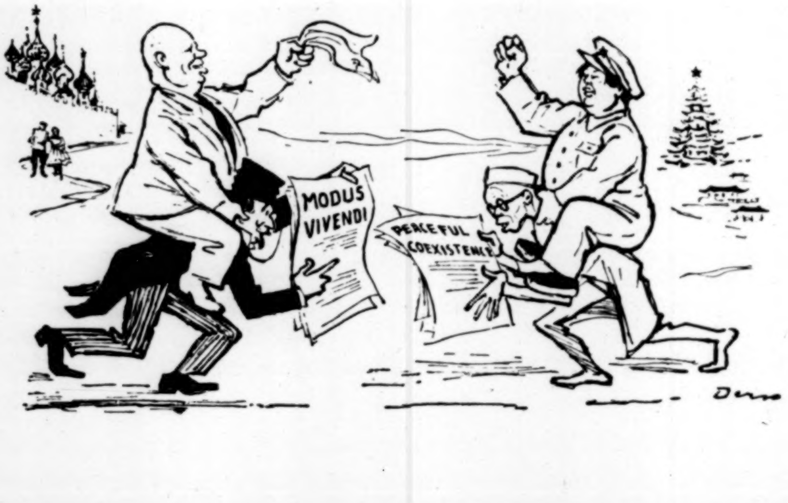
We need, I think, a precise elaboration of these three major hypotheses that will enable us to test them by actual evidence, and in particular by differential predictions concerning future developments. Of course, so long as we and the rest of the non-Communist world remain, toward Communism and the Soviet Empire, in our present state of abject stupor, it doesn't make much practical difference what the exact truth is concerning the anti-Stalin turn. It doesn't matter how vulnerable they are if we won't try to wound them. Whether they are strong or weak, we are bound to lose in the end if we refuse to try to win.

Communism Remains Communism

FRANK S. MEYER

It is more than three years since Joseph Stalin died. Not for one day since that event has the Communist juggernaut ceased its remorseless advance. The Middle East has been breached; the Titoist schism healed; united-front connections with the neutralist bloc immensely strengthened; the blockade of trade in strategic materials broken; our position in Western Germany and Japan undermined. Most decisive of all, a climate of opinion has been created in which socialists, Liberals and "men of good will" can "see no reason [the words are George Kennan's] why a satisfactory and hopeful relationship should not be established between the United States and Russia, even though the respective social systems and political philosophies remain theoretically in conflict."

It is not a bad harvest for three years of *détente* and "the lessening of international tension"; but it is a different world from the one our hopeful apostles of coexistence have been describing to the American people. Throughout these years—and with accelerating crescendo in the months since the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—like the twittering of birds before an oncoming thunderstorm, the voices of the Russian experts, the commentators, and, alas, of the political leaders of both parties, have been heard in the land, confiding to one another and to the public that a new era is beginning, that a great change has occurred. It may take time. We mustn't expect too much too soon. But the bogey-man is dead, and his successors are sensible generals, in-



dustrial managers, Russian patriots—anything but dedicated Communists.

With their eyes riveted in fascination upon the anti-Stalin campaign and the clumsy condescension with which Khrushchev and Bulganin allow themselves to be feted in every capital of the Western and the Eastern world, they ignore entirely, as though blinded by perversity or some malignant Fate, the reality which presses upon the seeing eye, a reality manifest on every level, practical, historical, theoretical.

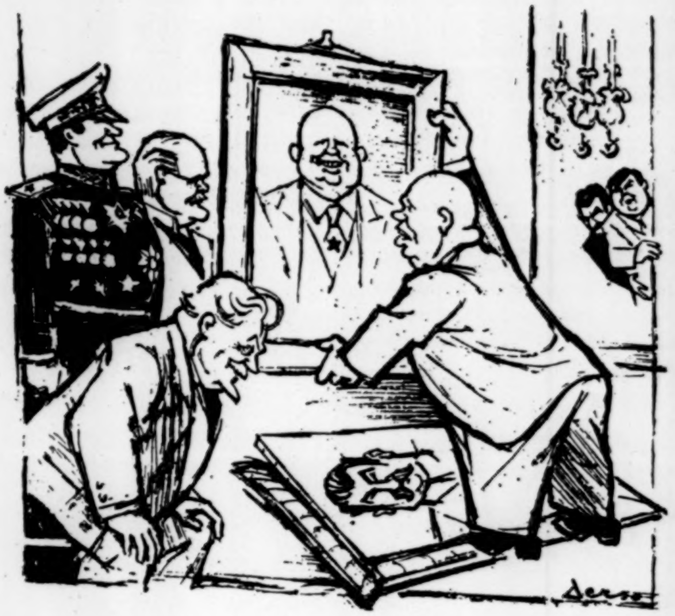
Practical: the continued advance of the Soviet position and the deterioration of our position.

Historical: the firm continuity of Communist aims and essential policy, through shifting tactics and strategical reassessments, from the birth of the Bolshevik Party to its 20th Congress, from an idea in the mind of Lenin and the few obscure revolutionaries of his personal circle to hegemony over 700 million human beings of the Soviet Empire and spiritual leadership of millions beyond its borders.

Theoretical: one might say, metaphysical, even, in a perverse sense, theological: the materialist dogmatism united with the self-immolating service of a dialectical goddess of History that breathes as strongly in the documents of the 20th Congress as in the earliest polemics of Lenin, a living creed which allows no compromise of its end, World Communism.

This is the reality of Communism—Lenin's Communism, Stalin's Communism, Khrushchev's Communism, the party's Communism. That reality, with its fearful threat to the values upon which Western civilization is founded, will not go away because we want it to. This is not the first time a shift of Communist strategy, or even of tactics, or the savage denigration of a former leader, has diverted and bemused the West.

True, since the successive depositions of Trotsky, Zinoviev and Bukharin, no figure even approaching the magnitude of Stalin has suffered their fate. But then, there has been no parallel change in circumstances, no need for so sharp a reassessment of strategy since the twenties. Then the Communist Party of the Soviet Union recognized that the first great wave of revolution, following World War One and the October Revolution, had begun to ebb, that the prime strategic task was consolidation of the Soviet Union, the strong point of the Revolution, encircled by capitalism. The concept of the building of socialism in one country as a beleagured fortress from which, in due time, the forces of world revolution might again sally forth, demanded, in the dialectic of Communist psychology, the symbol of the destruction of the images of those who stood against this vital thesis of Stalin's.



Stalin Serves Again

Today, Stalin's own achievements have destroyed that capitalist encirclement, shifted the fundamental balance of power in the world, and created a situation of socialist encirclement, in which the inertia of prevailing circumstances innately favors Communism. Only a principled, clear and fearless counterattack by the forces of freedom can, in these circumstances, stem the tide. Strategically, Communism is on the offensive as never before, but tactically it requires an atmosphere which will disarm its natural enemies and make such a counterattack unlikely.

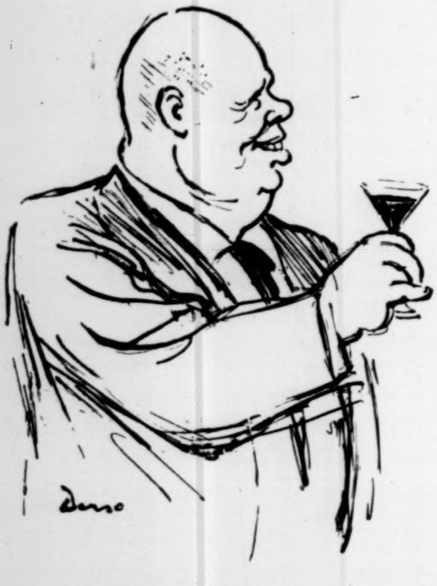
Stalin stood as the symbol of a *defensive strategy*, based on capitalist encirclement, and of a *tactic predominantly offensive*. A changed, an *offensive strategical concept*, based upon immense successes and requiring a *defensive tactic*, primarily directed toward disarming the enemy, is symbolized by the devaluation of Stalin.

Thus, the last of the companions-in-arms of Lenin pays to the party the supreme debt that he himself had exacted from so many others: having served the Revolution actively and consciously in one phase of the dialectical spiral, he serves it again in his denigration in a succeeding phase.

This is the "change," the auspices of which our augurs are so anxiously examining. A fundamental change in strategy, yes—but one which bodes no good to the cause of the West. An accompanying change in tactical emphasis, yes—one which, however it may alternate between the carrot and the club, will be directed toward lulling us, mesmerizing us, preparing us for a kill to be achieved against the least resistance, with the smallest risk possible. But a fundamental change, a Kennan change, a Lippmann change, which would return us to the happy world of nineteenth-century diplomacy and delicately shifting balances of power—no.

There is no change in the Communist metaphysical faith, held innately and in depth, in a way incomprehensible to the positivists, the instrumentalists, the psychoanalyzers who have taken over the intellectual leadership of the West; there is no change in the uncompromising devotion to the achievement of the goal of world conquest; there is no change in the supreme confidence in the methodology of dialectical materialism, the expression of that metaphysic, as the instrument for achievement of that goal. Communism remains Communism.

The evidence of objective history and of subjective intention openly declared, continuously records its character as an enemy that wills the destruction of our civilization. Why, then, do our oracles and the holders of power among us so unanimously and steadfastly refuse to recognize the truth, dire though it may be, and to propose and frame their policies accordingly? Partly, no doubt, it is the result of the deep corrosion of the Western heritage by a positivism that neither believes in a good for which to fight, nor credits to the enemy the possibility of unstinting devotion to an evil for which he is prepared to fight, come what may.



But this is an intellectual error, one which has only corroded, not destroyed, the foundations of our civilization and our nation. The decisive cause, I am afraid, of the bemusement of our policies, of the refusal to recognize the threatening specter for what it is, is a moral defect, a defect of courage. To stand against evil, to vindicate eternal values, when the grim reality of the world as it is today is once recognized, requires the risk of security, prosperity, life itself.

It is the duty of the leaders of a nation to make this plain, and to make plain the alternative of slavery and dehumanization. The people, it is said, are not prepared to listen to such leaders. I wonder if that is true. I wonder if the American people, inspired by political leaders who placed duty above expedience, and instructed by intellectual leaders who held firm to their vocation to truth and tradition, would fail to respond with integrity and heroism. There was Patrick Henry: "Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God!" And, in a lower key, the sergeant of World War One: "Come on, you sons of bitches, do you want to live forever?"

I wonder.

The Triumph of Stalin

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Now at last the Communist Party consists of Stalinists only. In a dialectical twist that would have pleased Hegel himself, the destruction of Stalin's corpse ends with an apotheosis of Stalinism.

For whom did and do we call a Stalinist? A Communist believer whose brains and conscience have been reduced to reflexes of an unquestioning obedience: Moscow's tuning fork oscillates, and the Stalinists of the world swing with it. This is exactly what is happening now—in artfully graded levels of tone, and with quite deliberate counterpoints.

But it happens (and this would have pleased Hegel even more) on the notorious "higher level": the latest obedience reflex of the Stalinists concerns Stalin himself. The incorrigibly naive West does not understand that Stalinization was the *prerequisite* for any "denial of Stalin"; that, more importantly, only with this denial a Stalinist has reached his maturity. A Stalinist who, without a quiver of his brain or his conscience, is ready to turn against Stalin, on Kremlin orders—such a Stalinist could be finally trusted by Stalin himself.

The suicidal "free world," which would rather die "optimistically" than stay alive "pessimistically," still tries to persuade itself that the "denial of Stalin" weakens world Communism. This serene "realism" doesn't even try to consider the facts first: the fact that the "denial" has already made the French and the Italian Communists respectable; that with the reconciled factionist, Tito, a whole flock of mistakenly prodigal sons have returned home; that the neutralists of all countries can now safely unite with Moscow; that the popular front, or the united front, or whatever the swindle will be called, must now become practically irresistible; that the murderers' struggle for leadership in the Kremlin can now be postponed for awhile; that together with the rest of the world the U.S. will now smile sweetly instead of acting seriously; that the Middle East (and this success alone is weightier than anything else that has happened since the last war) is today already a Soviet position and may be tomorrow a Soviet fortress. All this and much more are the first results of the "denial of Stalin."

On the other side of the ledger—well, what *is* on the other side of the ledger?

Nothing. For the intellectual *Schadenfreude* with which people like us savor the official Moscow "disclosures" really doesn't count. That these days every Communist Party cell is compelled to reiterate what we said about Stalin twenty years ago is actually embarrassing. For because it might have created the impression that Stalin has *deformed* Communism rather than *developed* it, our performance tastes of intellectual incompetence and moral weakness.

One feels, in fact, tempted to write a book in defense of Stalin. And this book would be more than a precious reaction to the scoundrels who the day before yesterday licked Stalin's spittle and only yesterday began to lick his blood. It would be a socially useful and perhaps historically important book. The non-Communist world that hardly survived Stalin cannot survive the anti-Stalinist

Stalinists. To show this world how faithful Stalin was to Leninism, and how much the Leninists of today are Stalin's faithful creatures, would be very meaningful indeed.

Yes, there is a need to protect Stalin's reputation. He was what he was primarily because the realistic administration of Lenin's heritage needed such a monstrous creature. That he, as a person, was cut out for just this function, that he wallowed in objective filth with subjective pleasure, was merely a matter of luck—and interesting in only one sense: if and when an historical situation requires swinish behavior, then it is probably helpful that the swinish deeds are performed by a man who *delights* in them.

Now Even Trotsky?

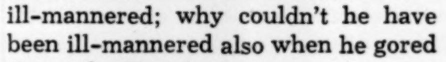
Theoretically, it is altogether conceivable that even Trotsky will now be declared innocent. Khrushchev and his boys have already swallowed more obnoxious tidbits than that one, and each time they have belched with pleasure. If something can be gained (for instance, if Moscow should expect some profit from a unified front with the Trotskyite groups in Latin America and Ceylon), then a rehabilitation of Trotsky is not only theoretically conceivable but also politically probable.

For it was Trotsky's spiritual catastrophe that he was wrong and Stalin was right. And if only for this reason, Stalin's "anti-Stalinist" heirs could be generous. It would not damage them at all to acquit Trotsky, posthumously, of treason. For in the meantime, even the most stubborn Trotskyite should have understood that Stalin and his boys have not betrayed Lenin's revolution. On the contrary, they—Stalin yesterday and Khrushchev today—have only done the more or less necessary to secure and expand Leninist Communism.

Theoretically, a rehabilitation of Trotsky is due because that excellent writer was an absolutely impeccable Leninist. After he had proved to his own satisfaction that Stalin had committed treason against Lenin, but had not changed the character of the Soviet Union, Trotsky was murdered by Stalin. Had he discovered that Stalin was a good Leninist, and Leninism a bad thing, then Stalin might have left him in peace. But to see in Leninism salvation, and in Stalin a traitor to Lenin—this was more than Stalin could take from Trotsky. For nothing is so unbearable for a murderer as an old comrade's doubts of the murderer's dedication to the murderous cause.

The currently ruling elite of the Kremlin is nearer to Lenin's pattern of the Revolution than to Stalin's. Why the statesmen of Western Europe and of the U.S. feel relieved by this fact, I don't know. The truth of the matter is that every single action of Khrushchev could be endorsed by Lenin and Trotsky. And this is particularly obvious as concerns the central question of terror. Terror is a sacred necessity if used against the class enemy (says Khrushchev today, said Lenin and Trotsky yesterday), but it is bad manners if used against Comrades. It was exactly at this point that Comrade Trotsky said goodbye to Comrade Stalin—and goodbye to his own life. He now could be rehabilitated. For now Comrade Khrushchev is ready to admit that Comrade Stalin was often ill-mannered; why couldn't he have been ill-mannered also when he gored Comrade Trotsky?

To emphasize that there are elements of fratricidal strife in Moscow's current position is to discover coal in Newcastle. There are, indeed, such elements in today's Moscow lineup as in yesterday's and tomorrow's. For the permanent purge is the normalcy of Communism. They purge and purge and purge, just as we elect and elect and elect. Every form of society needs a technique of constantly changing the guard, and theirs is the purge. Nobody should be surprised if Khrushchev tomorrow purged Molotov; or Molotov Khrushchev; or Malenkov Khrushchev *and* Molotov. Nor should anybody see in such pleasant prospects an intrinsic Communist weakness.



Kreuttner

"After the seventh adverse FBI report on this man I immediately began to consider the advisability of making a note to remind me to look into the possibility of asking him to think about the idea of requesting a transfer to a less strategic job."

In all demonstrable fact, Moscow's current policy (an almost orthodox application of orthodox Leninist tenets) has improved the regime's elasticity and linked it more firmly to the suppressed Soviet and satellite peoples than it has been for years. That regime remains, in its current form of appearance, just as vulnerable to bold Western thrusts as it always has been since 1917. Such thrusts are inconceivable in a West that is guided—by Democrats and Republicans, socialists and capitalists, interventionists and isolationists alike—toward suicide in irrelevancies.

But even in suicide the West must rationalize and cerebrate. This is the Western stance. So each time the monster stirs, our camp buzzes with feverish gossip and minute speculation. But the monster stirs to find a more comfortable position in a sleep that will only strengthen it for tomorrow's leap. And we are not hunters, even silly hunters who would rather gossip than shoot. We are the hunted.

With their return to orthodox Leninism, the Communists have of course profited immensely in all respects, but perhaps in no respect more decisively than in casting a spell on our own minds. It would have been no mean success if they had simply confused us by a seeming political turnabout. But they have achieved so much more! They have disarmed our intelligence. They have hypnotized some of the better Western minds into a state of wishful non-thinking.

In the meantime, continents crumble and the globe goes through political earthquakes. History (God help us) has never moved faster. And (to dispose of *that* cliché) time is altogether on the Communist side. On our side is nothing but a will which is immobilized by wistful arguments.

Letter from Seattle

ANDY STUDEBAKER

The reader who sent this account of the fight against Washington's right-to-work initiative cannot vote on the measure. He is only twenty.

In NATIONAL REVIEW for September 1, you reported that Oregon voters would get a chance to vote on a right-to-work bill. You must have meant Washington voters. I am sure Oregon has no such measure on its ballot, but Washington has.

Sixty-five thousand persons signed the right-to-work petition here, and 64,000 signatures were valid. Earl Coe, Secretary of State and a foe of right-to-work, had to put the measure on the ballot. The unions, the Communist Party and other groups did a roaring job of campaigning and propagandizing to keep the measure off the ballot. Petitions were mailed individually to 80,000 homes. Mysteriously, many were never even delivered. And many persons opposed to 198 (the number of the initiative) mailed the postage-guaranteed return envelopes back to the Washington Right-to-Work Committee stuffed with lead, tin cans, junk of all descriptions. The added weight required more postage, which the Committee had to pay.

Then the union dictators commandeered (it probably wasn't very hard) vast quantities of dollars and put on a frenzied crusade to keep the 50,000 necessary valid signatures from materializing. Full-page newspaper ads featured huge, sprawling dragons, snorting such admonitions as "Don't wreck your state! Don't sign #198!" The ads were filled in with more detailed drivel, designed to snare the worker who, if still unconvinced after viewing the Horrible Dragon, would have the presence of mind to Read Further. Great union-sponsored forums (indoctrinated assemblies) were held, where 198 was thoroughly denounced. Automobiles by the thousands blossomed out with stickers insisting "Don't wreck your state!" and in large red letters, "DON'T SIGN #198." (A handful of Brave Souls scissored off the "DON'T.")

This was last May or so. The Army of Organized Ignorance marched on. The CP, through the local Red paper, the *Peoples World,* printed thousands of special supplements, frantically devoted to informing the citizens of the myriad evils of the "right-to-scab law." The Catholic Archbishop, Thomas A. Connolly, denounced 198, stating, among other things, that right-to-work laws were "un-Christian." Mr. David Pollock, head of Washington Right-to-Work and himself a Catholic, stated in the press that right-to-work laws were not only Christian, but represented the heart of Christianity, which is the freedom of the individual.

The newspaper ads continued, at $2,500 a page, in the state's major papers. The intellectual level, which had at first been directed to the citizenry with a median IQ of about 40, was raised slightly, Apparently even the Labor Hierarchy were discovering that not all of their subjects were semi-morons. One, ad, with the relatively digestible title "To Err is Human," told with only moderate frenzy how the Washington Right-to-Work group had Erred as no one had Erred since Judas; but since to Err is Human, they were forgiven, but musn't ever let it happen again.

At this stage, the sponsors of 198 had virtually no publicity or advertising. Their funds were exhausted, mostly on the costs of printing and mailing the petitions. The deadline of July 6 was approaching, by which time the signatures would have to be filed. It almost looked as if they were not going to make it. But a concerted effort at the last pushed the total of signatures to 65,000.

The opposition was almost hysterical during June. Never in the history of our state has an effort been made to keep people from *signing* an initiative. From voting for it in November, yes. Proponents were labeling their initiative a "right-to-vote" measure as the frantic effort to keep it from the voters mounted. The unions pulled out all the stops. Their paid legal beavers in Olympia found that it was illegal to make public the signers of the petition, but legal for a person who had signed to request withdrawal of his name. So again a new series of full-page newspaper ads. With great glee and smug complacency, the opponents soothingly informed the public that there *was* a way, after all, to atone for the crime of signing 198! All you had to do was fill out the little form conveniently provided in the advertisement, send it to Earl Coe, Secretary of State, and your name would not appear on this infamous document. The only thing they did not do was have a stamped envelope, addressed to Coe, inserted in each newspaper.

Here was where the Labor barons received a jolt. The tens of thousands of dollars spent to urge people to withdraw their names from the petitions yielded just 266 withdrawals. This was after months of intensive propagandizing against 198; months of relative silence from its proponents.

The right-to-work law is on the November ballot. There has been relative peace since early July. No shrieking advertisements in the papers. The "Don't Sign" stickers on autos have been replaced by yellow and black "REJECT 198" signs. Enormous billboards are going up against it. The official and supposedly nonpartial state voters' pamphlet, sent out from Olympia to inform voters on all issues on the ballot, has two pages "For 198," four pages "Against 198." The measure's opponents were permitted to read the proponents' arguments before they wrote their own, whereas the proponents were not permitted to see the opposing arguments.

This is the lull before the storm, and it's gonna be a storm. The Unions have 440 speakers being trained in a special school. They are paid. Pro-198 speakers are not, of course. There will be hour-long TV shows against 198. The hose of intellectual decay will be turned on full against the common sense and patriotism of the people. The same untruthful drivel will be spewed out into the newspapers and other communications media. A quarter of a million dollars was spent against 198 last spring. The Unions are mapping a $1,500,000 crusade for the remaining weeks before election. I'm heading for the hills.

This Congressional Trip Paid Off

It is saving U.S. taxpayers millions each year on the cost of our diplomatic properties abroad

BLAKE CLARK

A good many American taxpayers think that Congressmen flagrantly abuse the privilege of traveling abroad at public expense. The journeys made to remote corners of the earth by Senators and Representatives—sometimes accompanied by their wives—probably do not cost the Treasury more than a fraction of its outlay for traveling bureaucrats—sometimes accompanied by *their* wives, children and even household goods—but the congressional travellers get much more publicity. It is true that they rarely make any public accounting of expenses or report their findings. That is equally true of the bureaucrats.

But congressional junkets do pay off when conducted properly. This is the story of one that cost less than $25,000; yet is saving the taxpayers millions each year.

One morning in September 1953, three U.S. Congressmen stood in Grosvenor Square, one of the finest residential districts in downtown London. Members of a subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, they were investigating reports of costly fumbles in the State Department's purchase of property abroad for the use of our diplomats and consuls.

Representative Frank T. Bow of Ohio unrolled a real estate map of the four-and-one-half-acre area which showed U.S.-owned houses marked in red, and those we leased in green. Sam Coon and Prince H. Preston, Jr., Representatives from Oregon and Georgia, respectively, examined it with him. What they saw made them gape. We owned the entire block of buildings constituting the west side of the square, half of the east side, substantial portions on the north, and we leased extensively on the south.

"The Foreign Buildings Operations Bureau of the State Department has deliberately set out to acquire every building surrounding this famous square," explained one of three investigators who had been sent ahead to ferret out the facts. "The English call this the American Quarter."

While the Congressmen inspected each U. S. building, the investigators described the dealings between London real-estate agents and our State Department's Foreign Buildings Operations officials, who are supposed to keep in mind the interests of the American taxpayer. One of these agents had set a price for a certain Grosvenor Square property which the FBO wanted to buy. The FBO man accepted so quickly that the agent asked for a few days' delay, after which he said he had committed himself to another buyer. This upped the price by $800,000, and the U.S. official paid it. "We could find no evidence at all of an actual sale to a third party," said the investigator, an expert property consultant.

Moreover, the hasty FBO purchaser had bought the property with leases in existence—some of which had actually been executed during the sale negotiations—to run for as long as 21 years. As a result, *foreign tenants resided in our Embassy building, where secret information was kept and where highly sensitive work was performed daily.* The United States was forced by contract to act as their landlord and even to serve them their meals in their rooms!

Vanished Elegance

A few days later the three Congressmen found a fantastic situation in Paris. FBO representatives had bought a furnished mansion from Baron Maurice de Rothschild for $2,111,783, to be used as the U.S. Embassy. The baron had asked permission to remove one painting and "some antiques in the basement." This was given.

Some days later the wife of a U.S. Embassy employee commented that a great deal of stuff was coming out of the house. Our ambassador telephoned Rothschild to remind him that the deal was for the property "as is."

"I'm just having the paneling cleaned," protested the baron reassuringly.

At this point Embassy officials advised Washington that we should cancel the purchase, but their advice was not heeded. The Congressmen later reported to the House Committee that when Americans finally took possession they found that someone had removed the priceless oak paneling and put in its place oak-stained plaster. Gone, also, was the massive two-story marble staircase and in its place was a concrete facsimile. Antique doorjambs and doorknobs had been replaced with cheap imitations. Tapestries had disappeared from the walls. Everyone agreed that the stripped mansion had greatly diminished in worth. But there is no record that FBO officials sought restitution for the damage.

Traveling to Bonn, the congressional team discovered the biggest non-military housing development ever undertaken by the U.S. Government abroad: 458 completely furnished apartments costing $31,448 each; five senior diplomats' homes for $184,310 each, and an ambassador's residence for $239,964; a church, two schools, a shopping center, and a theater and recreation area complete with swimming pool. The price of the project, despite the fact that labor costs were only about one third of those in the United States, was $16,750,000.

This project, which included two bachelor-apartment buildings that were the tallest structures in the entire Rhine area except for church spires, was the most prominent landmark in Bonn. Setting Americans off from local people, it created envy and ridicule. In the architect's office in the middle of the vast complex one of the visitors spied a little placard which seemed peculiarly, if unintentionally, appropriate. It was a quotation from Shakespeare: "Man, proud man, dressed in a little brief authority, plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven as makes the angels weep."

It All Seemed "Free"

How had such extravagant purchasing and building programs come about? At the end of the war, through settlements under lend-lease and sales of war assets and surplus properties, we found ourselves with some $900 million in various foreign credits which could not be readily converted into dollars but could be spent abroad in local currencies. The availability of all this buying power created the illusion that anything it bought was "free." FBO purchasing agents treated it as if it would buy nothing but real estate, with the result that some 97 per cent of our acquisitions were made with these credits.

Actually, as Senator Paul Douglas pointed out on the Senate floor, these funds could have been used for the Fulbright student exchange, for our foreign aid program, for strategic materials, munitions produced in foreign countries, supplies needed by our Government overseas, and to pay foreign nationals who work for our State and Defense departments abroad.

All over Europe the three Congressmen discovered instances of inexcusably bad judgment. In The Hague the FBO men had acquired 66 acres and wanted to turn it into an American compound, isolating our nationals from the Dutch people, with whom we want to be closer friends. In Marseilles we owned a consular office site situated in the midst of the red-light district, and a proposed official residence site on top of a steep hill that had practically no road leading to it and no water supply. In Nice we owned a beautiful villa with magnificent gardens overlooking the Riviera and tended by full-time workmen, but for several years no one had lived there because the consul general preferred his more convenient establishment nearer the city.

"Why don't you let this villa and save U.S. taxpayers some money?" demanded Congressman Preston of the official in charge.

"An excellent suggestion, sir," was the astonished reply. "No one ever thought of that!"

Never in recent history has any nation had a public building program to match that in which the United States is now engaged abroad. We have built or bought five times as many embassies, residences, apartments and offices in the past ten years as in the previous thirty. We own twenty residences in Indo-China, fourteen in Athens. A showplace in the style of the UN building in New York City houses our staff in Havana. Spectacular concrete shafts stab the sky above our offices in conservative Madrid. At Rio de Janeiro we have built a gleaming concrete and glass skyscraper with which few if any structures in Washington compare in pretentiousness. We have a two-million-dollar investment in Belgium and a four-million-dollar one in India.

True, this is not all waste. We have to have living quarters and office space in foreign areas. But the Congressmen found that in some places we were wasting money by building elaborate permanent structures for temporarily swollen staffs while elsewhere we were leaving our people in a shameful neglect that lessened respect for the United States. At Vientiane, Laos, for example, the termite-ridden floor of the Embassy reception room was so insecure that some local people, before accepting invitations, cautiously asked how many were coming.

Some "hardship posts" were exactly what the term implies. In one Southeast Asian country several large gasoline drums behind the Consulate contained the staff's sole supply of water for all uses. In Karachi, Pakistan, the U.S. offices were in a ramshackle garage. In Manila our Embassy staff and their wives and children were living in quonset huts put up in 1945 for soldiers' barracks.

Barrage of Facts

Shortly before the subcommittee started its investigations, State Department and FBO officials had appeared before the House Committee on Appropriations and blandly asked for $12 million to continue their building and maintenance program abroad. When the Congressmen returned to Washington they made a thorough report to the committee. Having gone through every U.S.-owned Embassy, consular establishment, office building, hospital and warehouse in sixteen countries, the three Congressmen now fired a barrage of facts, figures and questions that left the bureaucrats gasping.

For instance: "Why do we pay more each year for storage of furniture in Paris than the furniture itself is worth?"

"Are you aware that repeated changes in architectural plans cost $150,000 and delayed construction in Madrid for a year?"

As a result the State Department cut its $12 million request in half and began to reorganize its foreign building program. Its present aim is adequate quarters, in keeping with prestige requirements, rather than palaces requiring high maintenance costs.

Another result of the Congressmen's trip was the sale of a number of white elephants. The Marseilles properties brought $128,571, the villa in Nice $32,000, and the ambassador's residence in London $150,000. And —surprisingly—a bid of nearly two million dollars has been received for the Rothschild mansion in Paris. Also, the living conditions of our people in "hardship posts" are being improved. Our official families in Laos, Karachi and Manila are getting ready to move into adequate apartments and offices. Similar sensible housing is on the way wherever our official representatives around the world need it.

But as significant as the immediate results of this congressional trip is the example set for future junketeers. Through their on-the-spot experience, Representatives Bow, Coon and Preston are able to ride herd on bureaucrats who burst with eagerness to spend money.

Since the Korean war we have spent $26 billion in foreign aid alone. Spending on military aid, stockpiling and information services amounts to many additional billions. Expenditures on a large scale will evidently continue. If Congressmen will conscientiously follow these expenditures to see what we are buying, they can save vast sums for our taxpayers. The investigation made by the three proves that such trips abroad can pay off.

The PRINTED Word

The "Times" That Tries Men's Souls

Trained of late on Cairo (though using duds for ammunition), the Liberal propaganda machine's deep-throated Big Bertha, the *New York Times*, took it easy over a typical week-end—and did the following:

—Liked Mr. Stevenson's Little Rock statements on desegregation: the Supreme Court's decision was "right" and, in any case, once the Court has decided a constitutional question, "what is important is that . . . we accept the decision as law-abiding citizens"; hoped that the "rising generation of progressive Southerners" who "recognize the validity of Mr. Stevenson's approach" will soon stand up and be counted; left unanswered the question, Will the machine—if one day it and the Court disagree—continue to attribute ultimate wisdom and power to the Supreme Court?

—Adjudicated the dispute between Stevenson and Eisenhower over aid to Perón: "the record ought to be kept straight"; the ambassador whom Mr. Stevenson "so justly criticized" for appeasing Perón was appointed originally by Mr. Truman; Eisenhower only continued him in office; blame for "one of the greatest errors in our record of hemispheric affairs" must, accordingly, be "fairly apportioned" between the present Administration and its predecessor:

—"Deplored" the "latest Israeli raid into Jordan"; estimated that such "devastating acts of retaliation," having been "repeatedly and rightly condemned by United Nations officials," can only weaken Israel's case; conceded, just to be fair, that "the Jordanians are either criminally negligent or woefully weak in allowing . . . [border] incidents to continue"; put the whole problem down as one "for the United Nations and not for . . . punitive raids."

—Kept its fingers crossed as it commented on the Security Council's taking on the Suez dispute: "it would be rash to predict what is going to come out of this debate."

—Agreed with the Indian delegate to the Atomic Energy Conference that we are perhaps "on the brink of . . . dividing the world into atomic 'haves' and . . . 'have nots' "; conceded that some nations do indeed have more atomic material than others; then reminded the Indians that the purpose of the conference now in progress is to "offset" the "unbalance of atomic resources," and pointed out that India should be the last to object to the inspection arrangements desired by the West.

—Showed itself very knowing about Khrushchev in Yugoslavia and Tito in Russia: some observers "will argue that T. and K. are Communists" and are "now revealing their true colors"; others will say that "Yugoslavia is to rejoin the Communist bloc as a full-fledged member"; but we must not accept the latter conclusion "without much further evidence"; the best hypothesis, moreover, is that Khrushchev has turned to Tito for help "in the internal Moscow struggle."

—Agreed with President Eisenhower that American wars of the past have been "our" wars, not those of any particular political party.

—Came up, as one would expect it to, tails not heads on the Bolivian situation and U.S. aid to Bolivia: in Bolivia, a "handful of 'tin-barons'" have in the past "perched on an Indian population living in wretchedness"; more recently, there have been "incidents—an uprising impelled by hunger and misery, armed political opposition met by deaths and imprisonment"; despite all the help that the U.S. has been giving, the situation "is rather desperate"; concluded that ". . . Washington has been right" to ignore the seizure and nationalization of the tin-mines, and give aid.

—Confirmed this observer's suspicion that its indignation all last week about Nasser would end up signifying nothing—that is, would end up reaffirming the Liberal line: despite the "imperfections of men and of nations" we should be glad that, in our age, "when some problem [e.g., Suez] troubles the world, someone always takes it to the UN"; the latter, to be sure, is "no worker of miracles" ("No orders issue . . . No legions march"); but the UN "can, if all parties are willing, investigate with complete impartiality . . . suggest a solution or several alternative solutions . . . [and] provide technical and secretarial assistance"; it can "appeal to humanity's desire for peace and to principles of justice"; inside the UN, "all men are equal and all nations have inalienable rights"; and while politics "walks and whispers in the UN's corridors," that is all to the good: "politics never comes except where some kind of power is . . ."

—Argued itself into thinking that Russia's agreement to Japan's five-point formula looking to a peace treaty was a "political victory for [Japan]": the formula, to be sure, dodges the territorial issue between the two countries, and "postpones its discussion more or less [!] indefinitely"; the Soviet Union will, to be sure, "continue to hold the strategic islands in the southern Kuriles," it gets a "diplomatic foothold in Tokyo," and it will be "in a better position to act, in Japan, as a spokesman for Red China"; but then "ending the state of war is a good thing in itself"; the USSR is now prepared to support Japan for UN membership; and, best of all, "the Japanese position has not been compromised."

—Did the handsome thing about Tacho Somoza's passing: his "dictatorship was bad, but he himself was an attractive and genial personality"; noted Somoza's "genuine friendship" for the United States; went momentarily pensive over an "anomaly in hemispheric affairs," namely, that "the strongest dictators are among the best 'friends' of the United States"; decided against venturing a hypothesis capable of explaining this anomaly; gazed briefly into its crystal ball and predicted that the "ancient institution of political assassination" will persist in Latin America at least as long as "the institution of the military dictator, or caudillo."

—Rubbed its hands over our latest daring venture in pulling the psychological warfare rug out from under those slow-thinking Russians (inviting 'em to send four observers, all expenses paid, to witness the coming U.S. elections—on a reciprocal basis, of course); triumphantly concluded: "Like the White House, we pause for a reply."

W. K.

How Conservatives Should Vote

Here are more answers from our readers to our query "What should conservatives do about the coming election?" We shall publish further answers. However, the response from our readers has been so enthusiastic that no more letters are requested. The Election Editor has received so many outstanding letters, presenting varying points of view, that it has been difficult to select those for publication.

Let Us Have Humphrey

The choice is between George Humphrey and somebody like Snyder or Morgenthau. There isn't a particle of difference between the welfare state views of Eisenhower and Stevenson. But, under the Republicans, there would be at least a gesture of resistance, from the office of the Treasury Secretary, to deficit spending and further dollar depreciation. Under the Democrats we would have more Keynesism, with its deification of unbalanced budgets, especially in event of a business decline.

The Liberals hate Humphrey as a symbol of reaction. Witness Sam Lubell's latest blurb, "Revolt of the Moderates." Admittedly the difference between the two parties is almost indistinguishable, but the prospect of George Humphrey continuing as Secretary of the Treasury should justify conservatives in voting Republican.

Washington, D.C. BRADLEY H. PATTERSON

Democratic President, GOP Congress

In making my recommendations to conservatives regarding the knotty problem of how to vote this November I would call their attention to the fact that a regime such as the present one, based on a nominally Republican President and a Democratic Congress, can only lead to more socialism, sadistic taxation and simpering internationalism. I suggest that our national interest would be better served with a Republican Congress and a Democratic President. In that case there would be at least some hope that conservative elements in the GOP might grab leadership away from the "enlightened" Republicans and achieve some incidental good while belting away at Adlai.

So unless there are strong local reasons preventing, I would vote for Republicans for Senate, House and state offices, but for Stevenson for President. I recognize that this course of action demands a strong stomach, but I am sure that the reader's imagination will be stimulated by envisioning the consternation such a state of affairs would create among the "forward-looking" element.

Let me hasten to add that in any state having T. Coleman Andrews or another conservative third-party candidate on the ballot I would certainly vote for him and let Ike and Steve struggle along without us.

Columbus, Ohio LAWRENCE R. SMITH

Better Half a Loaf

How should conservatives vote this fall? I see only one answer—Republican.

Due to the fact that we conservatives have neglected our civic responsibilities for the past thirty years we no longer have a choice between good and bad on many issues, but only a choice between bad and worse. Should any conservative think that he has no real choice let him look back over twenty years of Roosevelt and Truman and the people who served under them and look forward to Walter Reuther as the invisible President if Mr. Stevenson wins.

Half a loaf is better than no bread, and the Republican Party is the only vehicle through which the voice of conservatism can make itself heard. It is the duty of every conservative not only to vote Republican, but to contribute as generously as his means permit to his county, state and national Republican committees.

Bethesda, Md. GEORGE C. WARNER, JR.

Make a Write-in Easy

Place workers at every polling place one yard outside the legal limit and equip them with pencils, well sharpened, on which the names of the candidates for President and Vice President of the States' Rights Party (or the Constitution Party or the We-the-People Party) are stamped and correctly spelt. Voters can carry these pencils into the booth with them and write in T. Coleman Andrews and his running-mate.

. . . It will take a lot of pencils and a great many more pencil distributors to cover every polling place in the nation. Every conservative paper and magazine should carry the idea, and local groups order the pencils and schedule the passers.

California SEBASTIANA LAMORTA

Too Late

. . . Since the atheistic Reds have chosen the Democrats, we must choose the left-wing Republicans and then firmly resolve that it shall be for the last time. Next time we must have our third party. . . .

I attended a Lincoln Day Dinner in Chicago in 1954. The organizers under Bundy promised third-party action. It never came. And now a few weeks before the election we hear a few faint words about a third party and even a fourth. It's not only too late, it's an insult. We can't expect thinking citizens to vote for a party when the managers and captains either will not or cannot organize. . . .

Wauwatosa, Wis. DAVID TILLOTSON

Another Question

I think the question you pose should be considered irrelevant from the standpoint of the conservative. I believe there is another question, which is more important and needs to be answered more urgently. It is this: "What is the reason for the relative unpopularity of the conservative cause, and what can be done about it?" If our cause is right and if we assume—as I think we should—that the people are not by nature wicked and hostile to righteousness, then there is an answer to this question waiting to be discovered.

Once this question is favorably answered, we will no more have to worry about choosing between an Eisenhower and a Stevenson.

Brooklyn, N.Y. OJARS GOBINS

Too Early and Too Much

GERHART NIEMEYER

In "Notes for a Controversy" [September 22] Ralph de Toledano addresses himself to the question: In what do the conservatives *really* believe? His article invites controversy and it should indeed not be allowed to go unanswered. For my part, I should like to submit that he has raised the question prematurely, and furthermore that he has put the wrong question.

We can readily agree with him on the facts: it is true that those who oppose liberalism as being deeply in error about the matter of human freedom do not now speak with a common voice. No contemporary thinker can be said to have articulated their common convictions; no political leader has united in his person their loyalties and aspirations. But can this state of affairs be helped by impatient charges and complaints about the "rootlessness," "opportunism," and "negativism" of "the conservatives"?

Let us leave aside the issue of whether such charges are justified, and let us assume that they are meant to stir up those who might be expected to articulate, to lead, to unite. A non-liberal political philosophy of freedom and human dignity is certainly a crying need in our time, but its formulation (or rather: reformulation) must not be rushed. Uttering the first word along this line is a matter of very great responsibility. It calls for long and mature reflection. Nobody should be made to come forth with ideas that are conceived merely as a response to the need for "conservatism to survive." It simply will not do to goad "the conservatives" into impatience with their present ambiguity by hurling irritated epithets at them. So much for the prematurity of the question de Toledano has raised.

The question he has asked—and which I hold to be the wrong one—is a question already raised by a rush of books and articles during the last few years: What is conservatism? The true answer to *this* question is both simple and not very meaningful: conservatism is a word. The word is full of symbolism, emotional overtones and hinted meanings. But "conservatism" is still a word, rather than an observable political reality. It makes little sense to complain that behind this one term there is not also one unified political movement, one "core of principle" and one ideology.

If we unearth a political symbol from history and apply it to modern political phenomena, we have no right to expect that political reality to shape up as our ideas of the word suggest it should. The mistake in this case is not with the conservatives who have no "common core of principle" but with those who approach political life by asking what a symbolic word "really" is. Along this line one can only find the very answers which one first has put into the object of one's inquiry.

It makes more sense to ask who uses this term and for what purpose. But when one raises this question one cannot by any means be sure that one will find something that one could confidently call "the conservatives." There are many groups and tendencies in the American scene today who are dubbed "conservative" either by themselves or their political opponents. The common designation does not necessarily mean that all these groups belong together, and that they potentially have or should have a common ideology.

To be sure, one may discover certain common elements among the various pretenders to the title. For instance, it may well be true that they are all opposed to the liberal preconceptions that prevail in federal government, education and communications—although this does not tell us anything about the reasons for their opposition. One might possibly also discover similar attitudes toward Communism, and a general fear of bureaucratic monopolistic leadership in the life of this nation. All this may be lumped together as a protest against the official forces and attitudes that presently shape our destiny. And one may add that this opposition springs not from a radical spirit of total displeasure with our society but rather from a concern for the social order in which the life of this nation has taken form.

Observations such as these may tell us something about why various political groups feel kinship with each other or have entered into a temporary political alliance, but cannot get us further along the road of non-liberal insights into the conditions of freedom. To make progress here, we cannot begin by assuming that something called "conservatism" really exists in contemporary America. We must rather discover the deeper logic of the reasons for which we hold liberalism to be in error.

In this kind of undertaking, no man has a right to speak for anybody else, least of all for "the conservatives." And one must not even assume that one should seek a "definite core of principle" uniting all those who now go under the loose designation "conservatives." For our concern here is with truth and not with a symbolic term. One cannot possibly say that all these groups and individuals belong together under a common ideology until they all have clarified their own reasoning.

Speaking now for myself alone, I am not persuaded that there should be what one would call a definite "conservative ideology." The reason is that I am deeply distrustful of any ideology which aims to subject the life of an entire nation to its guidance. There were centuries without an explicit ideology, conservative or otherwise, because in a community that is alive to the goods of life within the frame of a political consensus, no theory is required. The theory, as de Maistre put it, "would be written in the hearts of all countrymen." It can be shown that the need for a specific conservative way of thinking was felt only as a reaction against a certain type of political ideology which seemed to know no commitment to the living community. When some people began to derive political conclusions from abstract speculations and claimed intellectual certainty about sweeping principles by which they intended to design or remake in their entirety states, governments, constitutions, and legal systems—then

(Continued on p. 23)

BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Outsider: A Case History

FRANK S. MEYER

It is now about time we called off this whole existentialist business. It was one thing to reaffirm the claims of life against the abstract categorization, the sucking of all personal existence into great rationalist systems, that culminated in Hegel. But the Age of Reason has long since given way to the Age of Relativism. The primary disciplines of the reason—grammar, rhetoric and logic—are no longer taught in our schools; the picture is fast destroying the word; the concrete in a million forms saturates our culture, overwhelms us. It is reason, balance, measure, that are rejected today; it is the power to distinguish and to judge justly that is scorned.

The depreciation of the intellect and of reason, together with the glorification of pure Will, which is the stock-in-trade of vulgar existentialism, is a sure prescription for intellectual and literary acclaim. Nor does it seem that books which follow this formula need be written with any very great acumen, maturity or learning, to be praised to the skies by persons who should know better. Mr. Colin Wilson's *The Outsider* **(Houghton Mifflin, $4.00)**, after an enormous success in England, where he received the fulsome praises of critics like Edith Sitwell, Cyril Connolly, and Philip Toynbee, has now been prominently, if somewhat more critically, received in the United States and bids fair to become the "intellectual event of the year."

Presented as "An Inquiry into the Nature of the Sickness of Mankind in the Mid-Twentieth Century," it reminds one more than a little of Byron on Wordsworth's "idiot boy":

> That all who view "the idiot in his
> glory"
> Conceive the bard the hero of the
> story.

For Mr. Wilson's book, while worthless as an analysis of the intellectual and spiritual sickness of our time, is itself a classical case of that sickness.

To begin with, as his publishers and the clique of his admirers boast—and as his book makes abundantly clear—he has had no training in intellectual discipline. We have our Eric Hoffer, so I suppose England also has a right to an intellectual luminary totally innocent of the restraint bred by knowledge of, and respect for, the long tradition of rational discourse. Besides, not only did Mr. Wilson run away from school when he was sixteen, not only has he lived on the outskirts of society, sleeping in public parks and reading without guidance at his own sweet will (the Hero as Literate Bum), but he is Young—only twenty-four when he finished this book. And that puts England one up.

To clinch his claim to intellectual leadership, he disposes completely, cavalierly, of the entire structure of Western thought as the product of "children." Only the Outsider, the contemner of tradition and reason, is "adult." Aristotle and Plato, Shakespeare and Dante, are put in their place. All Wisdom lies in the assertion of pure Will.

Mr. Wilson has read widely, if not deeply, in the literature of the existentialist genre. His pages are 50 per cent or even more quotations from Nietzsche and Sartre and Kafka, and a dozen other writers of the sort, men as stimulating in small doses as strychnine, but in quantity, as poisonous. And there seems to be hardly any other substance to Mr. Wilson's reading. Or, when occasionally there is, he distorts it out of recognition: by interpretation, when he denies the Christian essence of Dostoevsky's insight, or by the wildest of arbitrary pronouncements, when he associates Cardinal Newman with Kierkegaard, T. S. Eliot with Berdayev.

All this the *New York Times* might regard as "a mature study, filled with assimilated erudition," and Mr. Philip Toynbee might call "a real contribution to our understanding of our deepest predicament." It is the adolescent conclusions of *The Outsider* that one might think would have given pause even to such intellectual fashion hounds.

Mr. Wilson notices that most of his Outsiders have gone mad, or otherwise come to grief. With commendable mid-twentieth-century prudence, he concludes that the Outsider had better find a way of getting Inside something—but nothing "bourgeois" like the Western tradition. It would seem that something in the nature of religion is needed, but of course no religion that any mere Insider could accept. Mr. Wilson has found, however, a haven of salvation after his long voyage among the nineteenth and twentieth-century existentialists. It provides the final touch of pure farce.

Two prophets in the twentieth century open the way that men have never discovered before. The one is the late George Gurdjieff, the founder of The Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man, a mysterymonger who was, at the best, a purveyor of half-absorbed Eastern ideas and, at the worst, a faker. The other —and if this strains credulity, I invite my readers to look for themselves—is George Bernard Shaw in the vulgarly vitalist mood of *Back to Methuselah*. Shaw, for Mr. Wilson, stands like a colossus overshadowing the centuries: "a major religious teacher," whose "figure is too vast for our age to be able to comprehend." To this we have come, after the Sartres and the Beauvoirs, after the Kafka cults and the Neo-Nietzschean heroics—Gurdjieff and Shaw!

The Education Hoax

The Democratic Way to Better Schools, by O. C. Miller. 210 pp. New York: Exposition Press. $3.50

After "about one hundred graduate credit hours in education," Mr. Miller had enough. The present book is the proclamation of his own emanicipation. Its major point is clear and simple: the loudly advertised shortage of teachers in the United States is just a hoax.

Every year approximately 10 per cent of the public-school teachers leave their profession. But of young teachers, between 25 and 40 per cent each year leave after only one year's experience with the tyranny of the pipsqueak Hitlers who have grabbed control of the schools as supervisors, principals, and superintendents. Harrassed by ignorant and often psychotic superiors, overburdened with irrelevant and degrading tasks, prevented from teaching anything effectively, and forced to become, in effect, active agents in the propagation of juvenile delinquency, teachers are everywhere seeking and finding ways to escape from a blighted profession.

It is small wonder, therefore, that the "educators" are beginning to wail for governmental scholarships to be bestowed on unwary college students who will *contract in advance* to teach in the public schools. The mentality that has built a little empire on the lie that teaching is a "technique" that can and must be taught is essentially the mentality of Stalin's accomplices: it understands that freedom must be abolished in the name of "democracy." By driving from the public schools (and, wherever possible, from the colleges) men and women who are not willing to forfeit their self-respect, it has *created* a shortage which it is now trying to use as a basis for the extension of its power.

Mr. Miller's book will not seem astonishing to impartial observers of American education. Recently two university professors compiled a list of the most promising students in their departments who had intended to teach in high schools. Of the thirty, twenty-two changed their minds when their intelligence was insulted by the nonsense they were expected to memorize in their required courses in "education." Of the eight who persevered, *all changed* their profession after one to four years of experience in public schools. The question before Americans now is whether they are determined to become a nation of morons.

REVILO OLIVER

No Blueprint

The Challenge to American Life, edited by Andrew S. Berky. 126 pp. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.75

Five intelligent men have contributed their ideas, in the form of short lectures, to this small book, described by its publishers as "A blueprint for progress which rises above immediate political expediency and pressure." But it is not a blueprint. The contributors pose more problems than they solve, while Ralph Cooper Hutchinson's lecture on "Spiritual Man" makes the book a palimpsest; for his thoughts cancel out some of the thoughts of his materialistic colleagues.

Gaylord P. Hartwell, dealing with social changes effected by the union of science and industry, would seek salvation through education in the sciences. Mr. Hutchinson, who sees Scientific Humanism as an agent of evil, urges us to return to religious and ethical criteria. James MacGregor Burns favors a strong, positive role for the President, and a comparatively negative role for Congress; and he firmly believes in the power of legislation, in which Mr. Hutchinson disbelieves. Henry Steele Commager writes in predictable words of "Individual Freedom." Joseph E. Johnson's formula for world peace is the mobilization of our moral, spiritual, and intellectual qualities. No, this book is not a blueprint.

BEN RAY REDMAN

News for Mr. Eisenhower

Target: The World: Communist Propaganda Activities in 1955. Edited by Evron M. Kirkpatrick. 362 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. $5.00

This excellent book assembles in orderly fashion a great mass of data. It begins with a brief analysis of the nature of world Communism, its history, apparatus and objective. It explains how Communist propaganda activities fit into the general operation, and how—in terms both of media (radio, TV, print, motion pictures, travel, trade fairs, exhibits) and of organization (Party and fronts)—the propaganda is disseminated. There is a summary discussion of the special ("Geneva") features of Communist propaganda during 1955 as strategically developed on a world scale. Finally, there is a detailed country-by-country analysis of the propaganda themes, slogans and transmission organizations.

Most of the material for this book comes from the work of government researchers and intelligence monitors that has been made available to Mr. Kirkpatrick. A compelling question arises. How can we account for the

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chasm between the section of our government that produces this clear, coherent, realistically evaluated information, and the section that "makes policy"? Can the President and the members of his Cabinet have read this material? It is almost inconceivable because, if they had done so, if they had read even a twenty-page condensation, they simply could not make the jejune estimate of Communist methods and intentions that they display in practice. Can they even know that such information is being "processed" in their own government?

Well, at any rate, we may be glad that through Mr. Kirkpatrick some of the information has now been made available to *somebody*.

There is a curious omission. The book includes a specific survey of Communist propaganda activities in every country of the whole world—except the United States (and Canada). Can it be that Communist operations within the United States are being ruled off limits for government research?

JAMES BURNHAM

A Man and a Prince

A Prince of Mantua: The Life and Times of Vincenzo Gonzaga, by Maria Bellonci. Translated by Stuart Hood. 312 pp. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.00

Vincenzo Gonzaga made his principal contribution to civilization when he subsidized the heartbreaking beauty of Monteverdi's finest music, but as a man and a prince he is a worthy representative of the age in which the Renaissance ebbed into the Baroque. This is a well written biography in the modern manner in which history is decked out in some of the trappings of fiction. One notes with some annoyance that in this, as in many contemporary books, a theoretical decency is ostenstatiously maintained by an indecent compromise. The physical reasons why Vincenzo's first marriage was not consummated are known and could be stated in five lines. On the plea that anatomical facts are too lascivious for words the author treats the reader to fifty pages of sly, often misleading innuendo.

R. P. O.

REVIEWED IN BRIEF

The Last of the Wine, by Mary Renault. 389 pp. New York: Pantheon Books. $4.50

Apart from those by Robert Graves, the only good historical novels of recent years were by women: Bryher, Zoe Oldenbourg, Marguerite Yourcenar. Now Mary Renault quietly joins their ranks with a cool, graphic frieze of life in ancient Greece. Ethics and athletics, Socrates and Plato, Peloponnesian War and Athenian peace are all here, subtly rendered, and with none of the flagrance or anachronism that seems inevitable when a man tries the same thing. Is it, perhaps, because a woman has less egocentricity, more yielding disinterest than a man when it comes to recreating nuances of feeling and behavior other than her own?

Homage to Mistress Bradstreet, by John Berryman. Pictures by Ben Shahn. 61 pp. New York: Farrar, Straus & Cudahy. $3.75

At forty-two, John Berryman has already written some of the best prose of his generation. In this *Homage,* his verse, line by line, is every bit as original, exciting and durable. It will make him remembered, and maybe even, in turn, poetically meditated upon, for as many hundred years as his heroine. Conrad Aiken's comment on the jacket is for once unfulsomely exact: "a classic right on the doorstep."

The Blaze of Moon, by Rayner Heppenstall. 187 pp. New York: Berkley Books. $.35

This novel was originally published in 1939, and though Elizabeth Bowen predicted a long future for it, it was hardly mentioned in critical quarterlies, or debates on the novel, or anyone's list of the ten-best-books-to-be-sent-to-the-moon. Yet it is one of the truest stories about a man and woman falling in love ever written. There are, say, two or three thousand people in the United States today who will find it so, and if they see *The Blaze of Moon* in some drugstore this year, they should disregard the cover photograph of a half-naked man massaging a woman and take a copy home. They will not regret it.

The Flowers of the Forest, by David Garnett. 251 pp. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.50

Continuing his Bloomsbury chronicle, this second volume of David Garnett's memoirs shows again that the most remarkable aspect of that milieu was not the original creative work of either its queen, Virginia Woolf, or its royal dukes, Forster and Keynes, but the worldly taste and influence of its lesser members—its whole families of culture-bearers, from the Stracheys to the Garnetts, from the Bells to the Sackville-Wests, the Frys, the Huxleys, the Nicholsons, the Stephens, the Spenders. As encyclopedists, editors, decorators, biographers, arbiters, their work was enormous. One has only to consider, for instance, the range of their translations (Garnett's Tchekov, Tolstoi and Dostoievski; Bussy's Gide; Spender's Rilke and Lorca) to realize that they probably did more to disseminate "the best that has been thought and said" in their time, than any analogous group in modern history.

The Future of the Novel, by Henry James. Edited, with an Introduction, by Leon Edel. 293 pp. New York: Vintage Books. $.95

In 1889, Henry James was invited to speak at a summer writing conference; and in a letter apologizing for being unable—or more probably, unwilling—to attend, he gave young scribblers the only advice they will ever really need: "An ounce of example is worth a ton of generalities," he warned, "oh, do something from your *own* point of view." For the future of the novel, like the future of anything *live,* stands in direct relation to the courage a man has to stand up and say, not "You," nor "They," nor even "We," but simply "I," and then bear witness to whatever he has seen, felt and known as one of God's creatures.

(Reviewed by Roger Becket)

To the Editor

Appeasement-Mongers

Eugene Lyons' article "Six Quakers in Search of Coexistence" [September 22] is a splendid example of what writers must do to combat the apparently endless waves of appeasement-mongers. Since they keep twisting Red propaganda into every statement, clever men like Eugene Lyons and you others must endlessly untwist the sentence and point out the fallacies.

Young people need to know how to see through these tricks, since they never hear the conservative side of any argument.

Hicksville, N.Y. M. KIMM

Orwellian Treaty

I wish to express my sincere thanks for mentioning the trials and tribulations of my term paper, "The Status of Forces Treaty," in your excellent and terse column, "The Ivory Tower."

Frankly, I am astounded that such outstanding organizations as the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars haven't teed off against this vicious, Orwellian, Bricker-Amendment-justifying treaty. . . .

I can only hope that some day, in the not too distant future, the American people will cease being mesmerized by apathy, indifference and complacency, and rise up in arms against this foul scheme to deprive our servicemen of their basic rights under the Constitution.

Culver City, Cal. ROBERT VAN DE WALLE

Suez Crisis

. . . to a person primarily interested in the strengthening of American nationalism, . . . the current "line" as to the Suez crisis in NATIONAL REVIEW seems to be all wrong.

The American role of tacit and actual support . . . of the French attempt to hold on to its colonial Empire in the face of rising nationalism, the support of the British position on Cyprus and the notorious "users' plan" in the Suez matter are all efforts to protect the . . . imperialistic interests of Britain and France.

Instead of condemning the U.S. Government for not backing France and the British in a war effort, as is evident in Mr. Bozell's article in the September 29 issue, the editors ought . . . to call for a reassessment of the whole policy that alienates Moslems all over the world and places us, by association, in the camp of the colonial powers whose defeat is inevitable and whose moral and political tenets are so at odds with those of America.

Chicago, Ill. SAMUEL R. STEWART

The Rosenberg Case

Priscilla Buckley's review of the aftermath of the Rosenbergs' execution [Sept. 22] strikes me as missing the main point. We Americans violated our own precedents by executing a spy in peace-time, and we did worse by executing a woman. And in surrendering a moral position we gave a moral appeal to the Communist enemy. . . .

Mound, Minn. A. B. GILBERT

Does Mr. Davis Concur?

In his letter to the editor [September 22], Mr. Elmer Davis wrote "I no longer doubt that the Polish officers at Katyn were killed by the Russians." Priscilla Buckley ("Danse Macabre," September 22) lists Mr. Davis as one who concurred in the judgment of Dr. Urey when he declared he found "the testimony of the Rosenbergs more believable than that of the Greenglasses." Perhaps Mr. Davis will write again to tell us he no longer does concur. If NATIONAL REVIEW keeps on, Mr. Davis may eventually admit he was always wrong—a conclusion I came to years ago.

Chatham, N. J. ESTHER HUGHES

News Scoop

DID YOU KNOW that the Fund for the Republic "was not organized solely to oppose Communism"? See page 10 of the [Fund's] Three Year Report.

Springfield, Mo. DANIEL HOWARD

TOO EARLY AND TOO MUCH

(*Continued from p. 19*)

a conservative consciousness often began to take shape in response.

In essence, such conservative theorizing has not consisted in intellectual system-building. Rather, it has attempted to restate the understandings on which a given historical country actually was based. Rather than build a "definite core of principle" such thinkers as we call conservative have pointed out the laws of spontaneity in the living order of a nation, lest impatient change seek channels of alienating force. Their concern has seldom been with an ideology of their own, but rather with the "planners," the know-better innovators, the politically unresponsive intellectuals. Theirs has been an argument not against reason but against intellectual presumption, and a call to heed the fence-posts of reality.

This is, I repeat, where my own sympathies point. I am far from claiming that this is what contemporary American "conservatives" actually think or should subscribe to. In fact, it is quite obvious that certain groups usually labelled "conservative" do not share these views but are committed to a definite ideology which they seek to make the yardstick for all political decisions. Nor can it be denied that many people who have no such ideology crave for a "core of principle" which would enable them to achieve a certain logical consistency in their political positions—a quest which is but natural with the human mind. And, finally, I cannot rule out the possibility that those of us who have fought militantly both Nazism and Communism and have seen the destruction wrought by these totalitarian ideologies have acquired a certain primordial fear of all ideological thinking which may play a large role in the position outlined above.

However that may be, it is only by focusing our attention on the nature of political reality rather than on the mythical "conservatism" that we can achieve clarity of what we want and what we believe in. If controversy there must be, let it be less self-conscious, and let it be about the truths we have forgotten or tend to forget.